2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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585 also speak to the couple on subsequent occasions, perhaps on the birth of a child (M.B.).

591 The place of residence of a newly married couple is something of a puzzle. In the nineteenth century it was temporarily patrilocal or matrilocal (bilocal), with friends, or by themselves (neolocal).[64] This was probably not true in early historic times; the evidence favors matrilocality. All sources are agreed that the Delawares were polygynous.[65]

595 Polygyny seems to have been more frequent in the early days. "An *Indian* may have two wives or more if he please, but it is not much in use as it was since the English came amongst them they being ready in some measure to imitate the *English* in things both good & bad."[66] Van der Donck said that "ordinarily they have but one wife, sometimes two or three, but this is generally among the chiefs."[67] The sororate [587] was sometimes practiced, and informants added that the levirate was known.[68] Trowbridge said that "many instances have been known where a man having married a widow also married her daughter, and this has sometimes been at the suggestion of the mother herself."[69]

586 Divorce.— Divorce was easy among the Delawares; either member of a marriage partnership could break the union.[70] Reasons for divorce were sterility, adultery, and any other type of incompatibility.[71] Divorce was not frequent when there were children, and in this event small children remained with the mother.[72] Heckewelder quoted a Delaware on marriage and divorce, and the account is both enlightening and entertaining:

> The Indians had not only a much easier way of getting a wife than the whites, but were also more certain of getting a good one; "For" (said he in his broken English), "White man court, — court, — may be one whole year! O may be two year before he marry! — well! — may be then got very good wife — but may be not! — may be very cross! — Well now, suppose cross! scold so soon as get awake in morning! scold all day! scold until sleep! — all one; he must keep him! White people have law forbidding throwing away wife, be he ever so cross! no! no! Squaw know too well what Indian do if he cross! — throw him away and take another! Squaw love to eat meat! no husband! no meat! Squaw do every thing to please husband! he do the same to please Squaw! live happy!"[73]

684 Marital fidelity on the part of men does not seem to have been a major
837 social goal, particularly during a woman's pregnancy, menstruation,
[834] and lactation, when marital relations were forbidden.[74] During this period many husbands apparently had concubines. There is one report of the social sanction of a woman's divorce from an adulterous husband. In this isolated case the husband was accused before the chief; he was

[64] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 78; O.A., N.D.
[65] Holm, 1834, p. 126; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58; Trowbridge MS., O.A., M.B., N.D.
[66] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[67] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.
[68] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; O.A., M.B.
[69] Trowbridge MS.
[70] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Holm, 1834, p. 126; Brainerd, 1884, pp. 171-72; Trowbridge MS.
[71] Denton, 1845, p. 9; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 85; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 154; Trowbridge MS.
[72] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108; Trowbridge MS; O.A.
[73] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 161.
[74] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80.

2:Newcomb E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7



8. All grandchildren and kin of the second descending generation, irrespective of sex, were called by one term, grandchild.
9. If Ego was male, the children of male cousins were son and daughter, whereas children of female cousins were nephew and niece. If Ego was female, the children of siblings and cousins, irrespective of sex, were son and daughter.

### Modern Kinship Terms

My data agree in the main with Morgan's, although there are some curious differences. (For comparative purposes the modern kinship terms are discussed here rather than under Acculturation.) The changes may be due to Munsi influence, since the modern system is like that of the Munsi, although the Unami dialect is employed. The changes may also be regarded as a further deterioration, particularly as the kinship society is no longer functional.

In terminology the major alteration has been in the classification of cousins. All cousins are now put in the sibling category, being termed older brother, older sister, or younger sibling. (Fig. 3, p. 47.) The children of those individuals whom Ego terms sibling are son and daughter, with the exception that male Ego calls a sister's son nephew. Male Ego does not call sister's daughter niece, as was true in Morgan's time, but calls her daughter. When cousins became brothers and sisters, it was only logical to extend the son and daughter term to their offspring. It might be noted that women in Morgan's time used the son and daughter terminology for all offspring of cousins. All of my informants were vague about the proper term for father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband. It was given as "my little stepfather," but also as "my little father."

### A Reconstruction of the Early Historic Kinship Terminology

Despite the lack of any early historic description of the Delaware kinship terminology, an attempt to reconstruct it is profitable. There is fairly extensive information concerning the other facts of social existence in early historic times, and, given these facts, only certain conditions were possible for the kinship structure. The kinds of forces that affected Delaware society between the time of first contact and 1859 are also known, as are the results that these forces generally have upon kinship systems. Moreover, Morgan's description of the kinship system in 1859 provides a point of departure.

There are strong indications that most if not all of the seventeenth-century peoples who were to become the Delaware tribe reckoned descent in the maternal line and practiced matrilocal residence.[121] It has been seen that horticulture was in the hands of women, a fact which emphasizes

[121] Wallace, 1947, pp. 1-35.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Delaware Kinship Terminology
Consanguineal

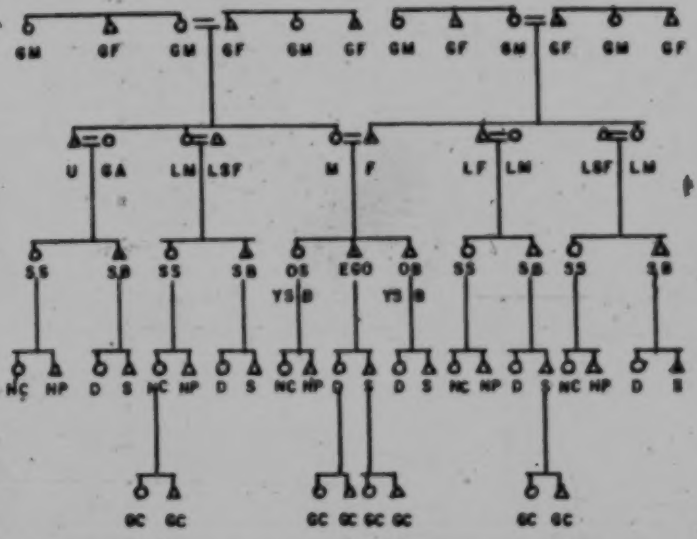
GM GF GM GF GM GF GM GF GM GF GM GF
U GA LM LSF M F LF LM LSF LM
SS SB SS SB OS EGO OB SS SB SS SB
YSB YSB
NC NP D S NC NP D S NC NP D S D S NC NP D S NC NP D S
GC GC GC GC GC GC

**Fig. 1. Delaware terminological structure, consanguineal terms, male speaking (1859). The abbreviations are GF, grandfather; GM, grandmother; U, uncle; GA, great aunt, LM, little mother, LSF, little stepfather; M, mother; F, father; LF, little father; SS, stepsister; SB, stepbrother; OS, older sister; OB, older brother; YSB, younger sibling; NC, niece; NP, nephew; D, daughter; S, son, GC, grandchild. Δ = male; O = female. With Ego female, the only difference in terms is found for nephew and niece. They are called son and daughter, so that all kin of the first descending generation are son and daughter.**

the maternal line.[122] There were other cultural traits which point to a maternal emphasis: avuncular succession of sachemship is one, as are the facts that orphaned children were cared for by maternal grandparents, that a widower had to reimburse the wife's family before remarriage, and possibly that childhood names were given by mothers rather than by fathers. The occasional polygyny of the early period did not favor either matrilocality or matrilineal descent, although if it was of a sororal type it was then compatible with matrilocality.

As has been noted, by the nineteenth century residence of a newly married couple was neolocal or bilocal, although probably it was matrilocal in early historic times. If a pre-European matrilocal society is assumed, what would cause an alteration to a neo- or bilocal rule? Murdock has said: "Rules of residence reflect general economic, social and cultural conditions. When underlying conditions change, rules of

[122]Murdock, 1949, pp. 204-5.

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Delaware Kinship Terminology
Affinal

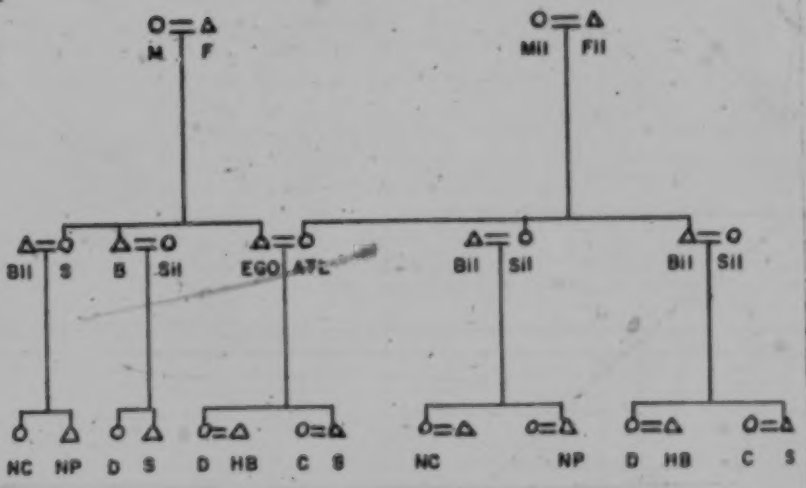


Fig. 2. Delaware terminological structure, affinal terms (1859). The abbreviations are Mil, mother-in-law; Fil, father-in-law; Bil, brother-in-law; Sil, sister-in-law; ATL, aid through life (spouse); HB, hunter for my benefit (son-in-law); C, cook (daughter-in-law). With Ego female, terms are the same. Other abbreviations as in Figure 1.

residence tend to be modified accordingly."[123] As he has pointed out further, the isolation and emphasis placed upon nuclear families, the decrease in polygyny, the scattering of kinsmen, and the individualistic emphasis placed upon economic activity, all favor the development of neolocal residence.[124] Bilocal residence is favored by "the adoption of a migratory life in unstable bands," and by the "approximate equality in status of the two sexes, especially with regard to the ownership and inheritance of property and privileges."[125] Almost all of the conditions which Murdock mentioned were prominent factors in Delaware life between 1600 and 1859. These forces are discussed at length under Acculturation; suffice it to say here that contact with Euro-American civilization caused extensive migrations, a new economic system emphasizing individual initiative, a decline in polygyny, breakup and decimation of geographically associated kinsmen, a decline in the importance of female-dominated horticulture, and increasing importance of men in subsistence. In short, residence rules of the Delawares in all probability altered from matrilocal to neolocal or bilocal.

The kinship terminology which Morgan described was in most of its

[123] Murdock, 1949, p. 17.
[124] *Ibid.*, p. 204.
[125] *Ibid.*

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Modern Delaware Kinship Terminology

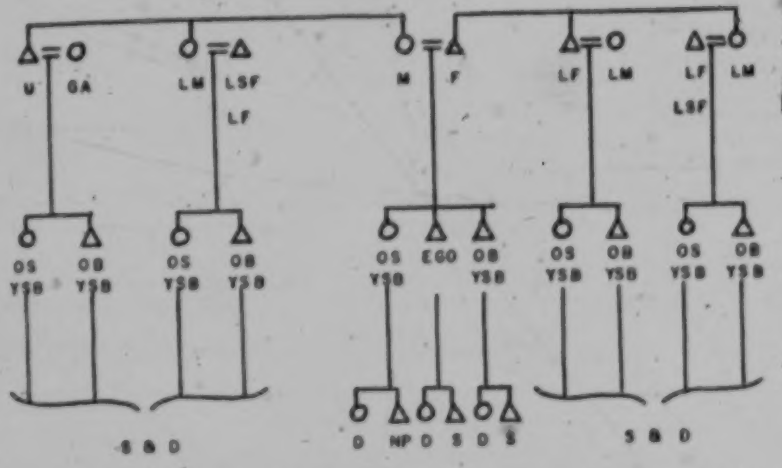


Fig. 3. Abbreviations are the same as for Figures 1 and 2. All cousins are called older brother or sister, or younger sibling. Sister's son is nephew, Ego male. Ego female, all kin of first descending generation are son or daughter. Mother's sister's husband and father's sister's husband may be called either little father, or little stepfather. A complete diagram is not given since there has been no change in other terms. Informants: O.A., M.B., J.T., F.W.

features in accord with the type which Murdock terms "Matri-Hawaiian."[120] It is apparent, however, that the early historic terminology was not Hawaiian, since descent must have been matrilineal instead of bilateral, as is required by a Hawaiian system. If an early historic system is now considered, with matrilineal descent and a matrilocal rule of residence, which by Morgan's time had evolved to a bilateral, Matri-Hawaiian type, is it possible to suggest the form of the early historic terminology? The most likely form would seem to be one of the "Iroquois" type, since the generation principle is not violated in either, and the other differences are relatively minor.[121] In an Iroquoian system cross-cousins are called by the same terms, which differ from those used for parallel cousins. Parallel cousins may or may not be called by the same terms which are used for siblings. The term applied to mother and mother's sister is different from the one applied to father's sister. If it is assumed that the Delawares had this system, with matrilocal residence and matrilineal descent, how would this alteration to the Hawaiian type take place? It may be postulated, for example, that Ego's

[120] Murdock, 1949, p. 229.
[121] White, 1939, pp. 568-70.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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mother's brother upon marriage violates the traditional rule of matrilocal residence and brings his wife back to the group in which Ego is growing up. If this becomes a common occurrence, it is readily seen that a mother's brother's children might soon be confused, or aligned in Ego's mind with his parallel cousins, leading eventually to an alteration in cousin terminology. Or, if the rule of residence becomes neolocal, the same sort of alteration might take place. In this instance the reason for distinguishing between various kinds of cousins disappears, as with our own system. Neither paternal or maternal cross- or parallel cousins would in this case consistently be more familiar with Ego because of residence; they would be equals, receiving an equal emphasis in the kinship terminology. A logical accompaniment to this sort of alteration would be a change in Ego's terms for the first ascending generation. It is plain that a father's sister, who under an Iroquoian system had a special term, would now be the mother of children whom in a Hawaiian system Ego calls siblings, and hence she is called mother. It should be noted that the terminology employed in Morgan's time retained at least one feature of a previously unilateral system. This was the term for mother's brother, who was called uncle, instead of little father, as the logic of a bilateral system would lead one to expect. It may also be noted that the offspring of this uncle were placed in the sibling category by Ego. It may well be that the special, asymmetrical term for a mother's brother is a vestige of the once important avuncular relationship. It is difficult to arrive at a reasonable hypothesis for the similarly non-bilateral terminology applied to nepotic relatives in Morgan's time. First, there may have been no change in the terms employed for the children of siblings, for this is still a common Iroquoian type of terminology. I have not been able, however, to state the most probable terminology for the offspring of cousins; that the terms were different from the ones used in Morgan's time seems likely.

### Clan and Phratry

The early historic Delawares seem to have had a rather weakly developed clan system. These named units probably consisted of a woman, her descendants, and collateral kin unilaterally reckoned in the maternal line. It cannot be determined whether these units should more properly be termed lineages, that is, unilateral descent groups tracing descent to a known ancestress, or clans, which may be defined as named, unilateral, exogamous descent groups, tracing ancestry to a mythically, or at least genetically, remote ancestor. Morgan termed these groups subgentes, since they were not totemic.[138] Wallace termed them lineages, and Harrington has called them clans.[139] Because of the diverse nature of the peoples who were to become the Delaware tribe any single characterization may be inaccurate.

[138] Morgan, 1877, p. 171.
[139] Wallace, 1947, p. 6; Harrington, 1913, p. 210.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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D 841 poorly built, and remains there two or three days, food being taken to her. When the time is over they bathe and wash their clothes and are allowed to return to their husbands. During the D 784 menstrual period, they are not permitted to do any cooking or 262 domestic work. None will eat what a woman in this condition 841 prepares, for food prepared under such circumstances is said to be unwholesome and to cause pain in the abdomen. The women do not go into company, but keep to their huts until their time is over. Hence, it occasionally happens that a woman engaged in baking will leave everything and go to her hut. This custom I [841] does not obtain among the Mingoes; their women continue their usual work and remain in the house.

In the wooing of a bride, custom demands that if an Indian would proceed honorably and at the same time have assurance D 584 that his wife when married will remain with him, he first sends a present of blankets, strouds, linen and whatever else the Indians commonly use for clothing and perhaps a few belts or fathoms of wampum. If he has no cloth, wampum alone will do. These things he gives to an Indian to whom he has declared his purpose and who hands them to a friend of the person fixed upon, speaks for him and presses his suit. Thereupon, the friends assemble, examine the present, propose the matter to the girl, who generally decides agreeably to the wish of her parents and relations. The suitor is then informed that his proposal has been accepted. If it is decided to decline the proposal, the present is simply returned and understood to be a friendly negative. In case the match is agreeable, the girl is led to the dwelling of the groom, without further ceremony. After the bride has joined her husband, the things constituting the present are divided among the friends and the belts of wampum cut and a piece given to each. The friends return the civility by a present of Indian corn, beans, kettles, dishes, spoons, sieves, baskets, hatchets, brought in solemn procession into the hut of the newly D married couple. Commonly, the latter lodge in a friend's house [591] until they can erect a dwelling of their own.

This custom still obtains among the Indians.[3] Within the last years, however, disorderly living and evil have become so common that faith is not kept and many of the usages, that were

Marriage arrangements were always simple, but it was definitely considered better form for the negotiations to take place between the two sets of parents rather than between the individuals concerned. In this type of negotiation, the man's mother took animal food which he had killed to the girl's mother; according to some sources, a return gift was made of corn food prepared by the girl (Harrington, 1908, p.215; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.161-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). It was not unusual, however, for the agreement to take place directly between the boy and girl in which case they might or might not go through these formalities. Loskiel, who is the only author who mentions the subject of residence after marriage, says that the newly married couple often lived with friends for a short time until they built their own house (Loskiel, p.56).

The man was responsible for building the house and providing axes, hoes, canoes, dishes and household equipment although the girl might supply some things. The man was expected to support the family by hunting, trapping and fishing, and the game which he brought home was the property of his wife to use as she saw fit. She was equally responsible, however, for agricultural produce and cooking; and if she were remiss, might be reminded of her neglect by her husband's taking to the woods without telling her he planned to do so. She also carried packs in traveling, tanned skins and fetched wood (Penn, p.30; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-160; G.Thomas, p.341).

There was apparently no strong pressure put upon the couple to remain together after they were married. Although later writers state that marriages were formerly more stable, they present no evidence to substantiate this. Polygyny was permitted but infrequent (Heckewelder, 1881, p.154; Harrington, 1913, p.215; Zeisberger, 1910, pp.78-9; Loskiel, p.57). After the death of a spouse, the widow or widower, but more particularly the former, was expected to remain single for a year, but it is clear that this was frequently not done (Brickell, p.49; Loskiel, p.121).

## Social Life and Organisation

Most of Delaware social behavior is a closed book to us as the early observers did not usually have long contacts with them in their villages. The early writers were aware, however, that the Indian expected to be fed when he visited them, and that they were always offered food when they visited him. Likewise they noted that gifts passed readily from hand to hand among the Indians although property rights were clearly understood (Lindstrom p.233; Danckaerts, pp.80 and 159; Penn, p.32).

The following games were probably played in this early period: footraces (Lindstrom, p.191); a gambling game in which flat bones,